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554 it to the digestive tract. After a man has given four potlatches
*556 he feels superior to those who have been unable to do likewise.
622 His name is "bright," "clean," "heavy," "firm," or "upright"
in Bella Coola terms, and so, likewise, his seat. He feels inde-
[578] pendent and proud. Such a chief will fearlessly enter the back-
room where ceremonial rites are taking place, even if not en-
titled to do so.

"He is so strong, he can go where he will," say the Bella Coola.

The advice of such a man is taken because of his ability and prestige, especially by the members of his own family. A few years ago, for example, when a certain Bella Coola died, his brother wished a *kusiut* name-prerogative of the deceased to pass to the dead man's daughter. The girl's mother's father, a *numitl* chief, objected, and his desires were followed, although the name in question was not connected in any way with his family. In small matters, too, people gladly carry out the
[592] wishes of a chief. Work around the house is done for him without thought of disobedience. An old man was asked whether, when he was young, chiefs gave many orders and acted as masters in their households.

"You bet," the old man answered emphatically with a dry chuckle.

●231 It is difficult now to form an accurate estimate, from obser-
552 vation, of the influence of chiefs solely through virtue of the
622 goods they have expended. But the following is a concrete example. In November, 1923, the writer, while walking through the Bella Coola village, was bitten by a dog. He was told that the animal belonged to a certain old woman. When next he saw the owner he asked her whether she knew that her dog attacked passers-by.

"Yes," she answered, in a matter-of-fact tone, "He is a chief and can do what he likes."

Further questioning elicited the information that the old
[766] woman and her husband, the childless last survivors of an ancestral family, had transmitted some of their ancestral

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names to their dog, and had distributed presents to validate the bestowal. Consequently, the animal is a chief (see Plate 11)[1/1] and can do as he likes. When it dies it will be mourned as a chief. Moreover, a number of people have returned the presents which they received at the time the dog was made a chief, and this money is kept by the woman and her husband, to be used when they perform the rite of mourning for the dog at death.

When this is possible, in the present degenerate days, it is not difficult to understand how, formerly, a great chief felt himself above the restraints that hindered lesser men. The last great Bella Coola chief was *Potles*, who died between 1870 and 1880. His influence and power were so great that he was a virtual ruler, daring anything. If he requested a young man to take his food box home and the youth was slow to obey, *Potles* had no hesitation in killing him on the spot. Such great power, though unusual, is intelligible to the Bella Coola, since *Potles* gave far more potlatches than any of his contemporaries. Other chiefs have been known to attempt a similar arbitrary use of power, but have failed, since their prestige was not great enough to justify it. The fame of a mighty chief spreads up and down the coast, and protects him and the members of his family from being ambushed and slain in any sporadic foray. During an actual fight, however, a chief had to take his chances with the rest, but the comparative immunity was a great advantage.

The Bella Coola recognize the fundamental differences between their own concepts about chieftainship and those of other coastal tribes with whom they come in contact. This point was mentioned in the course of conversation by several men. The most powerful chief known to them was *Tcubisa*, who, they say, was virtual monarch of the Kitkatla. None of his subjects could go hunting without his permission, and he had rights to a certain share of their booty. At any ceremony presents had first to be given to him, and if he were slighted in this respect, he would kill the offender. It is be-

[1/1] [Sec ant. 116, P 186 (c) - ANALYST]

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PLATE 11

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Photograph by the author

A Bella Coola couple with their dogs; the one on the left is a chief.

[p 186 (c)]

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789 856 morning to whip his son. It is clear, however, that such was regarded as proper by anyone practising this medicine, even though few did so regularly.

MEDICINES APPLIED TO YOUNG DOGS

789 *To Cause Ability in Hunting*

● 231 When a bear has been killed and the first incision made for skinning it, take a puppy, force its head inside the opening, and rub it to and fro. Throw the animal into the river and when it has swum ashore, repeat the rite. If this act is repeated four times, the dog will grow up to be a good hunter.

To Cause Ability in Hunting Beaver

Wrap the puppy in the freshly removed skin of a beaver and throw it into the river to the accompaniment of hand-clapping from as many as happen to be present. After submersion for a few moments, remove the bundle and throw it in again. Repeat this twice more. This makes the dog grow up unafraid of water and, accordingly, useful in hunting beaver.

To Cause Disregard of Musket Shots

Lay some black powder at the nose of a sleeping puppy and ignite it. The dog will grow up without fear of musket shots.

To Cause Keen Scent

Slit any kind of salmon so that the liver is exposed and hold the puppy with its nose immediately over this. Make an incision in the tip so that the blood flows freely on to the organ of the salmon. Hold the animal until flies have gathered from all directions to feast upon the fish and fresh blood.

The dog will grow up with the ability to locate game in any direction, just as flies gather wherever there is blood. He will also have their ability to travel without requiring a path. One [424] old man stated that this medicine was the property of an ancestral family, and should be used when a puppy is one month old.

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To Cause Ability in Hunting Mountain Goats

Steep the freshly removed head of a fisher, wolf, or wolverine in smoke for four days. Break a hole in the top of the skull and hold the puppy's head over this; then slit its nose so that the blood drips down into the interior of the cranium. Release the dog, take the head to the mountains and bury it in the ground beneath a spot where mountain goats have been sleeping. Dig it up four days later and conceal it under a shelving rock where it is protected from the rain.

This medicine causes the dog to grow up with knowledge of the haunts of mountain goats as well as with the bravery of whichever animal was used. This means can be practised only by members of the ancestral families to which it belongs.

[424]

To Cause Ability in Hunting Otters or Seals

Obtain the head of whichever is desired, and proceed as described for mountain goats. Instead of burying, place the skull under shelter near a creek much frequented by land otters, or near the ocean where seals are plentiful. It need not be taken up after four days.

To Cause General Ability

This medicine can be applied only by a successful hunter, who expects compensation for his assistance. It is employed when a puppy is about one month old.

Early in the morning the hunter seats himself on a box within the house of the dog's master, his legs stretched out before him. He seizes the puppy firmly and passes it, sunwise, around and under his legs four times, frequently spitting on its nose and kneading it with his hands to make that organ slender. This causes the animal to grow up with good tracking ability, while the passing makes it faithful to its master. Next the hunter seizes the dog by the hind legs and swings it four times, sunwise, over and through the smoke of the fire. This prevents it from being dizzy and afraid of precipitous mountains, but if it yelps as it travels through the air, it will be a poor dog. Finally, the hunter carries it to the river and throws

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789 231 it in. He seizes as it swims ashore and throws it back once more. This is repeated four times and causes the animal to have no fear of water.

In former times great attention was paid to the training of young dogs.

MEDICINES PERTAINING TO LOVE, MARRIAGE, AND CHILDBIRTH

832 *To Cause Love*

This medicine is applied by women to men, and by men to women.

Obtain a hair of the person whose love is sought, place with it one of the wooer's, and tie the two in a strip of birch-bark together with a morsel of octopus skin. This causes intense desire between the two. This medicine is usually personally applied by amorous youths.

A similar usage is to wear the two hairs next the stomach, hidden by a belt. Men, especially, do this to cause love on the part of girls whom they admire. An old Bella Coola mentioned that he had once had occasion to investigate the box of a Kimsquit man within which he found the tip of a land otter's tail, split, and containing two small tufts of hair, one the owner's, the other, his wife's. This ensured lasting devotion between the two.

To Cause Love for Oneself

A few years ago a certain *Kälotl* of Kimsquit used the following medicine to attract two sisters:

He made two figures, one representing a male, and the other a female. To each he tied birch-bark, octopus-skin, a few of his own hairs, and some obtained from the girls. Each figure was provided with sexual organs, and he placed them in position for sexual intercourse. This caused the two girls to desire *Kälotl* so madly that they almost became demented in their infatuation. Their mother, *Kwa·tsua*, suspected that *Kälotl* had been using something of the kind and searched his

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[The Breaker Dance]

above; of sitting in one of the back corners and receiving the first food at ritual meals; of paying those on whom they exercise their prerogative, and of liability to frenzy on arrival of strangers. This last prerogative, if it may be so termed, lasts for the ceremonial season, and in the case of a novice, for the following summer as well. Moreover, Breakers do not destroy the goods of fellow-Breakers, Scratchers, or Cannibals.

In view of the similarity of this rite to those already described, no effort was made to collect full details. Different Breakers have minor variations in ritual, similar to those already illustrated. The following is an account of the manner in which the Breaker, *Sxek* of *Snuɬɬi*, performed the rite a number of years ago. As on previous occasions, it will be convenient to use the present tense, and to refer to the dancer as X. *Sxek* gave the following account of the origin of his prerogative.

> Long, long ago, soon after the first people had come to this earth, a marriage was about to take place in the village of *Snuɬ·ɛɬ*. At that distant period the people were so powerful that they could themselves initiate *kusiut* dances, and the bridegroom determined to do so in honour of the event. He chose to imitate the actions of *Sänoɬlxmuɬɬs Älquntäm*, one of *Älquntäm*'s sons, whom he remembered having seen throwing stones in his father's house before he, the bridegroom, was sent down to this world.[a] When goods were piled up ready for distribution as marriage presents, the man began to hurl stones around; one of them ricochetted from a box, struck his bride and killed her. This unforeseen accident solved the question of his name, as by universal consent it was decided that he should be called, *Sxek*, "He of the Faulty Aim."
>
> Since that time a law has been enforced that no Breaker may throw a rock except ceremonially during his dance, and the marshals punish one who disobeys this injunction. If a Breaker is in the forest with a number of *kukusiut*, it does not matter if he fails to uphold this tradition; the essential is that the uninitiated do not see him cast a stone, even at a yelping dog, the usual reason for doing so in Bella Coola.

When X wishes to dance he must first obtain the consent of the marshals in the usual manner. He also arranges with *kukusiut* to have boxes and other wooden objects placed within

[a] This being is also called *Nusixwamxwiłam*, "The Cherished One."

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857 better than hunting birds and small animals with miniature bows and arrows, or snaring them in nooses of grass or string. Little girls make playhouses in which they cook wonderful meals of berries, with perhaps the addition of a wooden fish. On the whole, however, the children do not enter into play as boisterously as white boys and girls, nor do they seem to derive as much pleasure from it. In former times, when clothing was [152] scanty, small lads used to delight in picking nettles and beating [291] one another with the stinging branches; this must have caused considerable pain, but it was a point of honour not to cry out, and anyone, perhaps caught unaware, who showed discomfort, [526] was laughed at as a coward. Both boys and girls are fond of swinging, and even adult women sometimes find time to enjoy themselves by swaying to and fro at the end of a rope.

Young Bella Coola do not have as many toys as white children, and none of them is complex. Some girls have crude [575] wooden dolls, though elaborate figurines are reserved for use [231] in *kusiut* dances. Perhaps the most cherished plaything is a small puppy or, in recent years, a kitten, though the unfortunate animal is handled and mauled without consideration. A good carpenter may make for his son a wooden top or a bull-roarer, to the envy of his less fortunate friends. Both types of toys are said to be used in [575] *Nusmät-a* and at some *kusiut* dances the masked figures carry them to play with.

526 There is one game, *sleli*, which the salmon are [825] said to delight to watch, and which is accordingly played by boys as soon as the first spring salmon have been disposed of with fitting rites. Each makes for himself, or is given by his father, a wooden spear with a projecting barb, fastened as shown in the accompanying sketch (see Fig. 2). A loop of branches is made and thrown into a pool of stagnant, or slow-moving water, on each side of which stands a rival group of competitors. At a signal, all throw their spears simultaneously, with the intention of passing them through the ring, so that the barb of each will

FIG. 2.
"Toy spear."

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to the aesthetic, their skill in dancing and dramatics is noteworthy: no one who has witnessed a native dance can fail to have been impressed by the performance of the participants and the stage-craft of the carpenters. The fact that no system of writing had ever been devised has prevented the establishment of a native literature, but the practice of passing down an extensive folklore by word of mouth shows their narrative powers as well as their faculty for remembering details. At present it is difficult to appreciate what must have been their energy in earlier times when they faced the struggle for existence, armed with stone tools. Abundant salmon gave them adequate food, but only when weirs had been built with great labour. Though game was plentiful, the hunter was equipped with nothing more formidable than a bow and arrow. The simplest task required patience and skill undreamed of by the average white man. If the reader will allow his imagination to carry him backwards two hundred years, he will realize that the mere provision of food and clothing necessitated constant effort and ceaseless exertion.

Hand in hand with many admirable characteristics, the Bella Coola display others which strike the white man as unprepossessing. A first impression is the untidiness of their houses. Exteriorly, they are often fairly neat, but confusion reigns within. Clothing, instead of being hung up, is left lying on the floor; bed-coverings are piled carelessly; dirty dishes cover the tables; dogs and children swarm over the floor; flies abound; all is dirty and slovenly. The house itself may be uncompleted; a window lacks glass and has been boarded up; the roof leaks, or the steps are falling down. Nor are the surroundings more attractive. There is one struggling flower-bed in the village, but elsewhere the houses are surrounded by wastes of mud where horses and cattle wander, dogs prowl, and children play. In the distance the mountain peaks rise in splendour, but near at hand all is squalid and unkempt.

They are only slightly more particular about their personal appearance. Dirt does not distress them. They wash occa-

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sionally, in a half-hearted manner, but it is not unusual for a man to allow the basin of water in which he makes his ablutions to remain standing for two or three weeks. Not many years ago the Carriers taught their neighbours to make a kind of soap from the ashes of burnt cottonwood sticks thrown into water; with this clothes are washed irregularly and in most cases from sheer necessity only. In former times bathing was a semi-sacred rite, but this fell into disuse with the passing of the old religion, and the use of soap and water merely for the sake of cleanliness has not become a daily habit. The women have more vanity; the younger girls especially like to have new clothes, though they wear them carelessly, heedless of fit. An effort is often made to clean up for ceremonial dances, but it entails little more than the removal of the more obvious dirt and the putting on, over unchanged undergarments, of a sweater. Pride in personal appearance, love of tidiness, delight in a clean house, are all quite foreign to the Bella Coola.

Probably the reason for lack of comforts in the houses is simply that the people do not feel the need for them. They consider it no hardship to sit on a rickety chair, scoop up food from a common dish and, if they think of it, throw morsels down to the dog or the cat. The smell, the flies, the dirt, the chaos do not concern them. Capable of undergoing privations, hardships, and even sufferings, they think neither of the comfort of themselves nor of others. Their domestic animals are often treated abominably, not through lack of affection or cruelty, but from callousness. More than once the writer has seen a favourite dog steal a piece of food from the table. Its master, after a furious blow or kick at it, would suddenly, as if by inspiration, throw a choice bit to the animal, saying:

"Why, he must have been hungry!"

Though the Bella Coola feel a kinship with animals unknown to the white man, it is not combined with any recognition of their feelings as living creatures. There are, of course, many exceptions, but on the whole public opinion demands generosity and kindness only towards human members of the group. The moral code is not concerned with animals.